DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 324 906 FL 018 739

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TITLE Godt Peer Gynt er halve verket (Phonetic and Phonological Questions from the Fourth Act of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt"); A Field Manual for Readers of "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages" by Bronislaw Malinowski. ROLIG-papir, n 31.
INSTITUTION Roskilde Univ. Center (Denmark).
REPORT NO ISSN-0106-0821
PUB DATE Nov 84
NOTE 56p.
AVAILABLE FROM ROLIG, Roskilde Universitetscenter, hus 21.2, Postbox 260, DK-4000 Roskilde, Denmark.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120)
LANGUAGE Danish; English

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Danish; Foreign Countries; German; *Language Variation; Linguistic Theory; Norwegian; *Phonetics; *Phonology; *Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Ibsen (Henrik); Malinowski (Bronislaw); *Papua New Guinea (Trobriand Islands)

ABSTRACT

Two articles are included in this issue. The first article, written in Danish, focuses on an incident that occurs in the fourth act of Henrik Ibsen's play "Peer Gynt." A theory is put forth on why this particular incident, which involves the misinterpretation of the name Peer Gynt by the German character Begriffenfeldt, takes place. The theory suggests that when Peer Gynt introduces himself, in German, to Begriffenfeldt, Begriffenfeldt hears the German word "beginnt" (to begin) rather than Peer's name. Examples of phonetic and phonological similarities between German and Norwegian are provided to show how such a misunderstanding could occur. These similarities are disputed by another theory that suggests the first theory may only be guesswork. The second article is a collection of materials--maps, quotes, and biographical material--that serve as a guide to Malinowski's works on primitive languages. The information provided focuses on the languages of the Trobriand Islands, which are now part of Papua New Guinea. (VWL)

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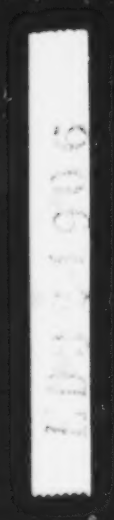

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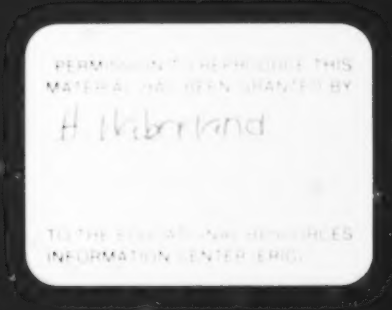
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ISSN 0106-0821

ROLIG-papir 31
Roskilde Universitetscenter
Lingvistgruppen

Hartmut Haberland og Jacob L. Mey

Godt Peer Gynt er halve verket

Hartmut Haberland

A Field Manual for Readers of "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages" by Bronislaw Malinowski

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Roskilde Universitetscenter
November 1984

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GODT PEER GYNT ER HALVE VERKET

Hartmut Haberland og Jacob L. Mey[1]

I

I fjerde akt af Ibsens Peer Gynt finder følgende replikskifte sted mellem Peer og dårekistedirektør Begriffenfeldt:

> BEGRIFFENFELDT. Deres Navn, min Herre?
> PEER GYNT. Jeg er døbt Peer Gynt.
> BEGRIFFENFELDT (med stille beundring).
> Peer Gynt! Allegorisk! Det var at vente. -
> Peer Gynt! Det vil sige: det ubekjendte, -
> det kommende, hvis Komme var mig forkyndt -
> (Ibsen 1930:174f. [1867])

Det allegoriske i Peers navn står måske ikke umiddelbart tydeligt frem. Man kan komme i tvivl om hvordan dette quidproquo skal opløses. I et bidrag i det norske Maal og Minne foreslår John Ole Askedal en ny løsning af problemet (Askedal 1983): Begriffenfeldt tænker ved navnet Peer Gynt på det tyske ord beginnt.

Begriffenfeldt er en vanvittig hegelianer; derfor kan det i og for sig være ligegyldigt hvor vanvittig hans tolkning af Peer Gynt er. Og dog. Ethvert vanvid har en kerne af sandhed. Og det er denne kerne Askedal giver sig i kast med at finde. Hans rekonstruktionsforsøg er afhængig af om det lykkes for ham at vise at de to former - det norske Peer Gynt og det tyske beginnt - ligner hinanden så meget, at man kan anse det for sandsynligt, at Begriffenfeldt i sin samtale med Peer kan misopfatte det ene som det andet.[2] (Samtalen foregår forøvrigt på tysk, ifølge Askedals omhyggelige argumentation). Askedal diskuterer grundigt (1983:56-57), hvordan norsk /y/ kan (mis-)opfattes som tysk /i/, hvordan /r/ kan bortfalde, hvordan det lange norske /ē/ i Peer kan opfattes som tysk [ə],

og hvordan /p/ kan blive til /b/ (fonemsekvensen /nt/ er helt klart ikke noget problem). Denne del af Askedals rekonstruktionsforsøg af Begriffenfeldts misopfattelse indeholder en meget omhyggelig fonetisk og fonologisk argumentation. Men der er ét problem, som Askedal går uden om, og det er ligningen mellem det norske grafem <G> i Gynt og det tyske grafem <g> i -ginnt. Umiddelbart vil den norskkyndige formode at Gynt udtales med /j/, men hvordan passer det sammen med udtalen af beginnt? Askedal skubber dette problem til side ved at gå ud fra den "dansk-norske sceneuttale" af Gynt med /g/, jfr. "<G> i Gynt udtales som velar klusil /g/ og ikke som stemt frikativ /j/" (1983:56) og "Uttale af <G> i Gynt som /j/ må antas å være den tradisjonelle i de gudbrandsdalske målfører som det tilgrunnliggende sagnstoff hører hjemme i. Uttale som /g/ tilsvarer danske fonologiske regler, som selvfølgelig også gjelder i den dansk-norske sceneudtale vi må ta utgangspunkt i her." (1983:59, fodnote 5)

For at kunne gennemføre tolkningen af Peer Gynt som beginnt er det altså nødvendigt, at det norske grafem <G> og det tyske grafem <g> nogenlunde svarer til samme lyd. Det er åbenlyst, at dette ikke er tilfældet hvis vi går ud fra en moderne tysk og en tilsvarende norsk standard:

Gynt (norsk) [j] ≠ beginnt (tysk) [g]

Askedal erstatter den moderne norske standard med den "dansk-norske sceneuttale", og får

Gynt (norsk) [g] = beginnt (tysk) [g]

- hvor ligningen går op igen.

Det kan dog argumenteres for at denne fremgangsmåde ikke tager højde for de faktiske sproghistoriske og sociolingvistiske forhold.

Ibsen skrev Peer Gynt i Italien i 1867. Først tredive år senere, i 1898, blev det fastlagt som norm for den tyske sceneudtale, at

<g> skulle udtales som stemt velær klusil [g] i alle positioner undtagen i slutningen af ordet efter kort tryksvag [I] (dvs. undtagen i ord som König ['kø:nIç]). Før 1898 fandtes der ikke nogen tysk udtalenorm, hverken for scenen eller i andre sammenhænge, kun en række regionale standarder; udtalen af <g> som [g], selv i begyndelsen af et ord, måtte betragtes som langt fra enerådende. Hermann Paul skriver om emnet i 1880 - tretten år efter Ibsen skrev Peer Gynt - :

"Das g wird in einem Teile Nieder- und Mitteldeutschlands, auch in einigen oberdeutschen Gegenden als gutturaler [dvs. velær - forf.] oder palataler Reibelaut gesprochen, entweder durchweg oder nur im Inlaut. [...] Wie kann einer z.B. wissen, wenn er das Zeichen g geschrieben sieht, welche unter den mindestens sieben in Deutschland vorkommenden deutlich unterscheidbaren und zum Teil stark von einander differierenden Aussprachen die des Aufzeichners gewesen ist?" (Paul 1880:379)[3]

Med andre ord: umiddelbart er der intet der taler for at Ibsen som en selvfølge ville have antaget udtalen af <g> i beginnt som [g].

Tværtimod er der meget der taler for, at han ville været gået ud fra at ord som beginnt udtaltes med [j], i hvert fald i denne sammenhæng. Peer siger selv,

> PEER GYNT. Det taler jo Sproget færdigt!
> Den Observation er ny og min.
> (noterer i Bogen)
> "Ekko på Tydsk. Dialekt fra Berlin." (1930:174)

Det er givetvis svært at se hvordan Peer Gynt kunne være i stand til at fastslå Begriffenfeldts dialekt udelukkende på grundlag af de to replikker "Ach, Sfinx, wer bist du?" og "Wer bist du?"[4]. Alligevel er vi nødt til at tage Ibsens udtrykkelige reference til berlinerdialekten alvorlig nok til at vi spørger os hvordan beginnt udtaltes i Berlin i 1867 (snarere end hvordan det udtaltes efter en tysk udtalenorm, som jo i øvrigt slet ikke fandtes på dette tidspunkt).

Det er ikke noget problem at fastslå, at <g> i begyndelsen af et (fonologisk) ord i hvert fald siden 1700-tallet er blevet udtalt som [j] i Berlin. Agathe Lasch (1928) anfører skrivefejl hos den første prøjsiske konge Friedrich I (1657-1713) som belæg for det fonologiske sammenfald: Friedrich skriver såvel gung for jung som dero jeehrtes schreiben for dero geehrtes schreiben. Lasch fremhæver endda, at man selv i de kredse, hvor man ikke talte udpræget berlinerdialekt, holdt fast ved udtalen [j] i forlyd indtil slutningen af det 19. århundrede, i visse morfemer endda op til det 20. århundrede. I grammatikker, som ellers kritiserer typiske 'berlinerfejl', nævnes den frikative udtale af <g> ikke, simpelthen fordi den ikke blev opfattet som fejl (Lasch 1928:255). I Danmark gør Kapers tyske grammatik så sent som i 1900 opmærksom på den frikative udtale af <g>: "Berlinerudtalen jut, janz bør undgaaes." (Kaper og Kaper 1900:13)[5]

Ganske vist står <g> i beginnt ikke i begyndelsen af et ortografisk ord, men positionen efter [ə] og før hovedtryk må på tysk opfattes som svarende til forlyd.

Det er svært at finde belæg for [j]-udtalen af selve ordet beginnt i den litteratur, som gengiver berlinerdialekt (eller gør grin med den). Det hænger vel også sammen med at beginnen tilhører det mere højtidelige sprog (anderledes end norsk begynne). I hvert fald den moderne berlinerdialekt ville foretrække synonymerne anfangen eller losgehen. Vi finder dog præteritum bejann hos Adolf Glassbrenner i hans "Eckensteher Nante" fra 1830erne, typisk i en sætning hvor Nante patetisk henvender sig til sin lommelærke:
"Karline, ick kann et dir nich langer verhehlen: ick liebe dir! Als ick dir sah, bejann mein Leben; meine Jurjel gehört dir auf ewig, nur der Dodt kann mir von dir trennen." (citat efter Kiaulehn 1965: 225)
Det er dog vigtigt at understrege at et belæg af denne slags ikke viser noget om [j]-udtalen hos de talere som ikke talte egentlig berlinerdialekt. Det er kun ved gengivelse af egentlig dialekt, at grafemet <j> indtræder for lyden [j]; ellers skrev man netop <g> for [j]. Denne relation [j]–<g> var netop typisk for den regionale berlinerstandard: der fandtes andre standarder i Tyskland, men

ingen af dem kunne betragtes som bedre eller mere autentisk end berlinerstandarden.

Vi står nu med det problem, at vi har en ulighed

Gynt ("dansk-norsk teaterudtale")	[g]	≠	beginnt (berliner-standard ca. år 1867)	[j]

Askedals tolkningsforslag kunne opretholdes, hvis vi pillede ved venstre side af ligningen - hvis altså Gynt udtaltes med [j] alligevel, på trods af den dansk-norske sceneudtale. Men ...

II
Zwischenspiel auf dem Theater

I neste omgang kan en jo spørre seg selv: Hva var det som gjorde det så påkrevd for Askedal å foreta alle disse forskjellige krumspring og på-tå-hev, fra gudbrandsdalske målføre til dansk-norsk sceneuttale og tilbake igjen?

For, rett besett, selv om det kan være riktig at "sagnstoff[et] hører hjemme i [Gudbrandsdalen]" (Askedal 1983:59), så kan dette vel neppe ha betydd så mye for Ibsen - han var alt annet enn en målføre-fanatiker, og hvorfor skulle det også ha interessert ham, hvor stoffet kom fra? Gudbrandsdalen, Rondane, Gjendeeggen og -bukken, alt dette er staffasje for den store dikteren: han iscenesetter, og bryr seg ikke om filologens knebøyninger.

På den andre siden kan det vel også hevdes, at en dansk-norsk teateruttale (som altså ikke er en teateruttale, som var felles for Danmarks og Norges scener på Ibsens tid, og heller ikke en dansk uttale, som var blitt pålagt norske aktører, men snarere en norsk sceneuttale, som må henregnes til det som engang kaltes for 'riksmål', og som av noen nidkjære norskfilologer stadig fortrinsvis betegnes som 'dansk-norsk' - fordi det angivelig ikke har noe i Norge å

gjøre -), altså denne uttale-på-scenen fantes vel neppe de jure på tidspunktet da Ibsen skrev sitt drama. Hvordan det var de facto, det kan en kun ha formodninger om. Og det er kanskje ikke så vanskelig å la disse formodninger følge et bestemt spor tilbake i tiden, hvis vi legger merke til visse fenomen i dagens teaternorsk (eller kanskje jeg skulle si: i teaternorsken som det taltes i mine unge dager ...)

Frem og tilbake er like langt: fra teatret til Gudbrandsdalen og tilbake igjen - hvor er det så vi kommer hen?

Svaret er ikke vanskelig å gi: ved foten av Fløyfjellet. For alvorlig talt: hva kunne det ha vært for en 'dansk-norsk sceneuttale', som Askedal så tillitsfullt viser till? Landets første teater ble oppført i Bergen, 1850, og kom således Nationaltheatret i Christiania i forkjøpet med nesten 50 år. Med rette kaltes det bergensiske musenes palass for 'Den nationale Scene': fra sin gjenåpning i 1876 og nesten 25 år frem i tida var det nemlig kun denne scene, og ingen andre, som kunne gjøre krav på det ærefulle prædikatet.

Christianias 'Nationaltheater', som kom til å fungere som landets største scene fra århundreskiftet (den ble åpnet 1899) var fra fødslen av sterkt preget av å være en 'opkomling' i den kulturelle verden, en i begynnelsen temmelig uinteressant stjerne på det norske kulturfirmamentet. Det hjalp litt på det, da man forsynte det med noen meget imponerende aner, i tidens stil: selveste Ibsen og Bjørnson, som kom til å pryde innkjørslen på hver sin side, på den måten som nasjonalteater verden over nå engang bør se ut[6].

Men litt etter litt måtte allikevel den ærværdige bergensiske scene avgi litt av sin autoritet og vike for sin konkurrent i hovedstaden - hvortil sikker også bidro Christianias nyvundne betydning som det uafhengige norske kongerikets regjeringssete etter 1905.

Men bergensernes hevn var, om ikke direkte søt, allikevel meget effektiv. Langt inn i vårt århundre kunne man faktisk ikke begå seg på de skrå bredder i Oslo, eller i Tigerstadens teatermiljø overhovedet, dersom man ikke hadde den rette, teatralske uttalen.

Ja, Virginia, det fantes de facto en norsk 'Bühnenaussprache'! Og denne norsk teaters ukronte dronning av uttalen var en bergensdame. Skuespillere og skuespillerinner måtte gjøre kur til henne, uansett hvor i landet de selv var fra, og specielt de skarrende [r]'er ble ansett som det sikreste tegn på god skuespillerherkomst, og som en ufravikelig krav for god sceneuttale - vel saktens en levning fra den tiden, hvor de unge lovende skuespillere av begge kjønn ble ekspedert til hva man den gang anså som det pulserende hjerte i norsk teaterliv, for å perfeksjonere seg i kunnen og teknikk, og ikke minst uttale. Og dette senteret pulserte hinsides Langfjellene; 'GO WEST' var løsenet.

Men hva har alt dette, og specielt de bergense r'er, å gjøre med Peer Gynt og berlinerdialekten?

Saken er, at Askedal går over bekken etter vann, hvor han heller skulle ha gått over fjella. Det forekommer den dag i dag tilfeller av velare okklusiver i bergensdialekten foran fortungevokaler: /g/, /k/ uttales i visse ord som [g], [k] også foran /e/, /i/, /y/, altså hvor de etter de vanlige norske fonologiske regler egentlig skulle ha vært spirantiserte til [ç], [j]. En av mine tidligere venninners mor, en omplantet bergenser i Oslo, snakket, selv etter 40 år i hovedstaden, fremdeles om kirsebær med [k-] i forlyd, og det var aldri et kanskje i hennes mund - hvis det ikke likefrem var måske, så i hvert fall kanske, med 'dansk' uttale af k'en (jeg tar her ikke stilling til hvorvidt denne lyd skulle være 'specialimportert' fra Danmark til Bergen - men det har jeg ikke megen tro på). For ikke å snakke om den leksjon i praktisk norsk som ble gitt meg av en annen kvinnelig bekjent; hun fikk meg til å oppgi min 'bondske' uttale av ordet kysk, med [ç], og visste å instruere meg i en mere elegant praksis i låt og dåd. (Behøver jeg å tilføje at hun selvfølgelig var noe ved Nationaltheatret?)

Hvorom alting er, Ibsens og datidens forhold til det bergensiske, senere hovedstadens, teatermiljø og -språk, mere enn godtgjør sannsynligheten for, at han brugte den uttalen, som noen stadig regner med som den 'dannede' (autoritative) i teateromgivelser - i hvert fall så lenge man holder sig til Theatercafésiden av Stortingsgata,

og ikke skrår over trikkeskinnene, for det som skjer dér, er en helt annen historie. Der hører ikke verden opp - tvertom, det er kanskje dér, noe er Peer Gynt å skje.

III

Hvor er vi henne nu? Vi har fundet ud af at vi med sikkerhed kan antage at den udtale af beginnt, Ibsen ville været kommet i tanker om må have været [bə'jInt].

Og vi må gå ud fra at Askedals henvisning til den norske (dvs. bergensiske) teaterudtale holder stik: Peer Gynt udtales med klusil.

Dvs. i stedet for Askedals ligning

Gynt (dansk-norsk) [g] = beginnt (tysk) [g]

får vi

Gynt (bergensisk teaterudtale) [g] ≠ beginnt (tysk; berliner-dialekt) [j]

Ligningen går ikke op. Hvad skal vi gøre?

Et muligt redningsforsøg er at antage at Ibsen ikke tænkte på berlinerdialekten alligevel, da han skrev scenen, selv om han faktisk tænkte på det tyske ord beginnt. Dvs. han havde en anden af de tyske standardudtaler for initialt <g> for øjet, en anden utdtale som han måtte have hørt på sin rejse gennem Tyskland til Italien. I dette tilfælde må vi dog spørge os, hvorfor Ibsen i så fald udtrykkeligt skulle have sagt at Begriffenfeldt taler "Dialekt fra Berlin". Man kunne selvfølgelig frit efter Christian Morgenstern formode "der gute Dichter tat es um des Reimes willen" - en forklaringstopos som mig bekendt i princippet blev opfundet af Lukian, og som af denne grund kan hævde at have en vis tradition. Men det er tydeligt at det ville føre ind i nogle fuldstændigt halsløse spekulationer. (At en af de mulige standardudtaler af

<g> i forlyd, nemlig [g], tredive år efter Ibsens Peer Gynt, blev ophøjet til sceneudtale, er irrelevant i denne sammenhæng. Ibsen kunne umuligt vide det i 1867.

Løsningen er ellers oplagt (den er så oplagt, at vi har antydet den i dette lille bidrags overskrift). Hvorfor tage omvejen over Berlin, når løsningen ligger på den anden side af gaden? Hvis vi vil opretholde den helt rimelige idé at Begriffenfeldts ord

> Peer Gynt! Allegorisk! Det var at vente, -
> Peer Gynt! Det vil sige: det ubekjendte, -
> det kommende, hvis Komme var mig forkyndt -
> (Ibsen 1930:175)

skal opfattes således at Begriffenfeldt bringer det semantiske indhold **begyndelse, at begynde** i forbindelse med Per Gynt - ja hvorfor skal denne forbindelse ikke gå over det norske verbum begynne eller dets participium begyndt (eller begynt i moderne stavemåde)? Denne løsning ville også have den fordel at den er uafhængig af den konkrete udtale af Peer Gynt, begynt (og, for den sags skyld, også af rimordet forkyndt): [g] eller [j] er ét fedt, uanset om udtalen er bergensisk, 'dansk'-norsk, norsk, dansk, eller hvad man ellers vil hitte på: bare <G> i Gynt og <g> i begynt udtales ens.

IV

Und die Moral von der Geschicht

En god historie har altid en morale (ellers er det jo ikke en rigtig historie). Derudover vil læseren på dette sted forvente en lingvistisk morale (for lingvistik, det er det vel, det her, eller er nogen i tvivl?)

Vores moral er på en måde noget triviel: sprog er historiske størrelser, de udvikler sig, og også de variationer som findes i alle sprog på alle sprogstadier er udsatte for forandringer i den historiske proces. Det vi efterlyser er altså bare: mere historisk bevidsthed.

I dette konkrete tilfælde er det interessant at se at Askedal betragter alle fonetiske ligheder mellem Peer Gynt og beginnt som problematiske - lige med den ene undtagelse, hvor vi må gå ud fra en betydelig historisk udvikling i tiden siden Ibsen. Spørgsmålet om et tysk <g> for Ibsen i 1867 svarede til den velære klusil som vi kender fra moderne standardtysk, dukker slet ikke op.

Lidt mindre triviel end moralen på historien er den konkrete iagttagelse som vi gjorde i vores argumentation: i nogle tilfælde kan det være svært at rekonstruere den historiske proces. I og for sig hører dette rekonstruktionsarbejde til filologens og sproghistorikerens daglige håndværk (når han eller hun ikke er ude at bøje knæ). Men tit er datagrundlaget for dens slags "fonetisk arkæologi" (Haberland 1984a:44) mere end spinkelt. Kun for visse sprog i visse perioder (især i den nyeste tid) har vi undersøgelser som vi bare behøver at slå op i for at få fat i de data vi har brug for. Et eksempel er Brink og Lunds bog om de københavnske sociolekter i de sidste 100 år (Brink og Lund 1975).

Undersøgelser af denne art - for nu at spinde lidt videre på vores udvidede morale - kan hjælpe i mange tilfælde, hvor vi støder på deskriptive udsagn, som ellers ville være fuldstændig uforståelige for os. Et eksempel er følgende sætning i Kapers velkendte "Tysk Grammatik for de øverste Klasser" (i 1900-udgaven):
"I Indlyd efter Vokal udtales det [dvs. tysk <g>] bedst som vort g i at vige, et Dige, f. Eks. sagen, Wage, die Tage." (Kaper og Kaper 1900:13).

Hvis vi her gik ud fra moderne dansk og tysk udtale, så ville vi forstå Kapers påstand således at grafemet <g> udtales ens i dansk vige og tysk sagen. Dette er simpelthen forkert. Men Kaper kunne umuligt gå ud fra den moderne udtale af de to ord, idet han selvfølgelig kun kendte sin egen, eller sin egen tids, udtale. Hvis han havde brugt lydskrift, ville problemet ikke været opstået: lydskriften (eller de forskellige udgaver af lydskrift: API, Dania, etc.) har et nøje defineret forhold mellem tegn og lyd; der findes institutioner (f. eks. Association Phonétique Internationale),

som vogter over dette forhold og gør rede for det. Til gengæld hører kendskab til lydskrift ikke til vores almindelige skolelærdom, og ikke alle kan læse den. Derimod er forholdet mellem retskrivning og udtale fælles viden for alle der kan læse og skrive. Ingen institution behøver at vogte over dette forhold, og de, der gør, er bestandig udsat for skepsis og tvang at legitimere sig. Derfor vidste alle læsere af Kapers grammatik i 1900 nogenlunde hvad meningen var med beskrivelsen af en tysk lyd "som vort g i at vige". Vi ved det til gengæld ikke. Men heldigvis findes der historiske undersøgelser, som ex post har fastslået hvordan visse ord udtaltes på et bestemt tidspunkt. Ved hjælp af Brink og Lunds nævnte undersøgelse kan vi nu rekonstruere historien for den lyd Kaper identificerede <g> i tysk sagen med.

Brink og Lund bruger i deres undersøgelse en modificeret Dania-lydskrift', som afviger fra API-lydskrift (international lydskrift) på en del punkter. Deres ɻ er således API [ʏ̞], dvs. "(palato-)velær" og "friktionsløs" (1975:60); deres ʝ har "kvaliteter ml. i̞ og e̞ uden specifik læbestilling" (1975:60).

For den lyd, der interesserer os her, nemlig ɻ efter fortungevokal, må vi skelne mellem to sprogforandringsprocesser, nemlig én, hvor ɻ bliver til ʝ, og en anden, hvor ʝ bliver til nul, dvs. forsvinder. Det er klart, at den anden proces forudsætter den første, men et betyder ikke, at den første proces må være gennemført hos alle talere inden proces nummer to kan sætte ind: det kan godt være at nogen stadigvæk siger viˈɻə når andre allerede er gået over til at sige viˈə. (For det følgende skal det lige bemærkes at Brink og Lund omtaler det faktum at et fænomen findes hos talere som er født i året x som at noget sker i året x (1975:33).)

Lad os først se på overgangen ɻ → ʝ. Allerede Jacob Baden advarer i 1735 mod at sige sie, pie (Brink og Lund 1975:301), og man kan formode, at han sigter på en udtale siˈʝə, piˈʝə (Brink og Lunds tidligste informanter, som har nul i disse ord, er fra 1893, men det kunne selvfølgelig være tale om en tilbageudvikling). Brink og Lunds tidligste informanter fra perioden 1840-1890 vakler alle mellem ɻ og ʝ. I 1890 optræder den første informant som slet

ikke har ɋ i de pågældende ord. Af informanter født mellem 1900 og 1910 vakler de 11; de 5 har kun j̩ (dvs. for disse 5 er overgangen ɋ → j̩ fuldstændigt gennemført). I perioden 1910-1920 overvejer de 'ɋ-løse' informanter: 12 ud af 14; de resterende 2 vakler stadig. Efter dette findes ingen informanter med ɋ mere (1975:284ff., især 286).

Hvad overgangen j̩ → nul angår, så finder Brink og Lund intet tegn på den hos informanter født før 1893. Mellem 1893 og 1915 er situationen indviklet: 6 informanter har bevaret deres j̩ (eller endda ɋ), mens 7 har både nul, j̩ og stadig ɋ. Fra 1915 til 1930 findes variation hos alle informanter, og efter 1930 bliver nul enerådende (1975:298ff.). Det må lige tilføjes, at udviklingen forløb langsommere udenfor København, især i Jylland, og at den ikke behøver at have ramt alle relevante ord på samme tidspunkt; Brink og Lund citerer (jyden) Jespersen for at ɋ ([ʏ]) ikke fandtes i ord som sige, pige, ryge, men stadig i vige, ydmyg m.fl. (1975:300).

Kaper (sønnen, ikke faren - jeg formoder at det er ham der står for fonetikken i 1900-udgaven) blev født i 1874 og han var Københavner (hans far kom vist et sted sydfra). Ud fra det vi ved kan vi gætte os frem til at hans udtale af vige må have varieret mellem viˈɋə og viˈj̩ə (for begge overganges vedkommende falder han i den første periode, dvs. vaklen ɋ/j̩, intet nul).

Når Kaper nu siger til sine elever, "tysk g i indlyd efter vokal udtales ligesom vores g i at vige", så kommer de frem til en udtale af sagen, som, alt andet korrekt, kunne gengives i international lydskrift som [zaːʏ̞ən] eller [zaːɣ̞ən]. Vi ved, at det ikke er helt forkert. På trods af Siebs' Bühnenaussprache var det i 1900 meget almindeligt at sige [zaːʏən].

Vi må dog komme med én indskrænkning: det er meget vigtigt at Kaper siger " ... som jeg udtaler dansk g i at vige". Få år efter 1900 må der have været elever i de øverste klasser som sagde viˈə (API [viːə]). Hvis disse elever havde brugt deres egen udtale som model, ville de været kommet frem til et tysk [zaːən]). Denne effekt ville næppe have været den pædagogisk tilsigtede.

Her spiller selvfølgelig også nogle sociale og sociolingvistiske faktorer ind, og måske var uenigheden mellem lærer og elever om hvordan at vige udtales slet intet problem for de "øverste Klasser", som Kaper far og søn skrev deres grammatik for.

Vi er kommet langt omkring: Fra Gudbrandsdalen til Rom, hvor Ibsen skrev Peer Gynt, fra prøjserkongen Friedrichs Berlin til Fløyfjellet, fra Nationaltheatret i Oslo til rektorværelset på Ordrup gymnasium (ja, dér sad Kaper - sønnen altså - fra 1908 til 1917).

Men hvad var det, vi skulle bevise? Eksemplet med den lille sætning fra Kaper viser, at det nogle gange er muligt at grave dér, hvor man står og få noget op - i dette tilfælde fonetiske detaljer. Men i mange tilfælde er vores viden på ingen måde tilstrækkelig. Hvad vi har af sproghistoriske data, er altid kun isbjergets (eller bræens) top; specielt står det sløjt til med de fonetiske data når vi går helt tilbage i tiden før grammofonen blev opfundet. Et tolkningsforsøg som det Askedal er gået i gang med må i så fald nødvendigvis bero på gætteværk. Medmindre vi tror på bogstavet. Men det dræber, som en anden så ganske rigtigt har bemærket.

ANMÆRKNINGER

1. En forkortet udgave af denne artikel udkommer som Haberland 1984b. Vi har skrevet denne artikel i fællesskab (i Roskilde, i Skydebjerg, og nogle gange med posten frem og tilbage), men man behøver vel ikke gøre opmærksom på at forfatterjeg'et i denne artikel ikke altid er den samme person.

2. En interessant teori om misforståelser findes i Zaefferer 1977.

3. Sml. også Viëtor 1888. I dag er udtalen [j] af initialt <g> inden for 'Umgangssprache' stort set begrænset til to områder: det ene i Rhinlandet, der andet (mere spredt) fra Warburg i Westfalen til Anklam i Mecklenburg (sml. Eichhoff 1978, kort 115). Berlin ligger indenfor det sidstnævnte område; for Vestberlin (punkt C 62 på kortet) har Eichhoff både jehabt og gehabt, for Østberlin (C 63) kun jehabt.

4. Jeg takker Uta Quasthoff, som har gjort mig opmærksom på dette problem.

5. Kaper anbefaler ellers den frikative udtale af <g> i indlyd, altså [j] hhv. [ɣ]. Mere om dette senere.

6. Hvis noen er skeptiske, la dem ta en tur til byen Košice i det østlige Slovakia, og betrakte 'nasjonalteatret' der: det virker som en tro kopi av det norske. Flere av slagsen kan beundres under stikkordet 'Theater' i Meyers Grosses Konversationslexikon, 6. utgave.

7. At der findes institutioner, der vogter over en lydskrift, ses tydeligt i følgende bemærkning hos Brink og Lund: "'Hver mand sin egen lydskrift' er ikke noget attråværdigt mål. Den nøjagtige fastlæggelse af tegnenes lydværdi i denne afhandling er foretaget på en båndoptagelse, der beror på Institut for dansk Dialektforskning - tilgængelig for enhver interesseret." (1975:50)

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A FIELD MANUAL FOR READERS OF "THE PROBLEM OF MEANING IN PRIMITIVE LANGUAGES" BY BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI

Hartmut Haberland

1. Introduction

This contribution is a collection of material - in a way, my "Malinowski file" - which took shape in the Spring of 1984, when I gave a course on Speech Act Theory at the Department of Linguistics, University of Copenhagen. I started re-reading Malinowski, mainly put onto the right track by some remarks of Todorov (quoted below). In the beginning, this meant just reading his 'classic',"The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages" (Malinowski 1923a), only until I suddenly got interested in the partly cryptic and partly even incorrect references in the footnotes. I started to make up a 'corrected' bibliography, and suddenly found myself reading most of the early works of Malinowski's, at least what was connected with the Trobriand islanders and their language, Kiriwina. What follows, are quotes, maps, and bibliographical material. Nothing that is worth much in itself, but the kind of information I would have considered useful, had I had it readily available when I got interested in Malinowski again.

Most linguists probably know Roman Jakobson's reference to Malinowski in his closing statement "Linguistics and Poetics" from a conference on Language and Style held at Indiana University in the Spring of 1958:

> "There are messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works ("Hello, do you hear me?"), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention ("Are you listening?" or in Shakespearean diction, "Lend me your ears!" –and on the other end of the wire "Um-hum!"). This set for CONTACT, or in Malinowski's terms PHATIC function, may be displayed by a profuse exchange of ritualized formulas, by entire dialogues with the mere purport of prolonging communication. Dorothy Parker caught eloquent examples: "'Well!' the young man said. 'Well!' she said. 'Well, here we are,' he said. 'Here we are,' she

> said, 'Aren't we?' 'I should say we were,' he said, 'Eeyop! Here we are.' 'Well!' she said. 'Well!' he said, 'well.'" The endeavor to start and sustain communication is typical of talking birds; thus the phatic function of language is the only one they share with human beings. It is also the first verbal function acquired by infants; they are prone to communicate before being able to send or receive informative communication." (Jakobson 1960:355f.)

What Jakobson refers to is Malinowski's concept of "phatic communion", -

> "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words." (Malinowski 1923a:315)

There is only one little catch here: Jakobson seems to imply that for Malinowski, there is a function of language called 'phatic'. This makes sense in Jakobson's framework. Jakobson equates "speech event" and "act of linguistic communication" (1960:353), therefore it makes sense to single out a 'phatic function' of language and to talk about 'phatic communication' if a message is primarily concerned with the contact factor involved in verbal communication. (Jakobson doesn't talk about 'phatic communication' himself, but I gather that this is the way he has been understood.) But for Malinowski, the opposition is not between 'phatic communication' and 'communication' otherwise; it is between 'communion' and 'communication'.

> "[phatic communion] serves to establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by the mere need of companionship and *does not serve any purpose of communicating ideas*." (1923a:316, emphasis added)

and, even more clearly (since in the last quote, one could still say that something other than ideas is communicated):

> "Indeed there need not or perhaps even there must not be anything to communicate." (1923a:316)

For Malinowski, if language is not used for communicating (that is, for communicating ideas or thoughts), then it serves a different purpose, namely that of communion, the creating of ties between people.

Since this communion is established through language, Malinowski coins for it the term 'phatic' (using the stem φα- of the Greek verb φημί 'to say, to affirm, to assert', which we also find in words like 'emphatic', 'emphasis', and 'aphasia'). What is special about phatic communion, is therefore not that it is phatic, but that it is not communication (in Malinowski's, not in Jakobson's sense of 'communication'). Malinowski might as well have called it 'linguistic communion' without making a different point.

This might sound like haggling about terminology. The dialogue Jakobson adapted from Dorothy Parker is, after all, an example of phatic communion in Malinowski's sense. But I think that a discussion of Malinowski's original idea brings forth something which tends to be missed out in Jakobson's approach, namely that language is not only a means of conveying thought ("communication"), but also a mode of behaviour ("action"). It is interesting to note that Malinowski uses the term 'pragmatic' in this connection:

> "To restate the main position arrived at in this section we can say that language in its primitive function and original form has an essential pragmatic character; that it is a mode of behaviour, an indispensable element of concerted human action. And negatively: that to regard it as a means for the embodiment or expression of thought is to take a one-sided view of one if its most derivate and specialized functions." (1923a:316)

Todorov gives a very clear summary of all this:

> "L'ethnologue anglais Bronislaw Malinowski écrivait, il y a quarante-cinq ans:
> 'une simple phrase de politesse, employée aussi bien parmi les tribus savages que dans un salon européen, remplit une fonction à laquelle le sens de ses mots est complètement indifférent. Questions sur l'état de santé, remarques sur le temps, affirmation d'un état des choses absolument évident, tous ces propos sont échangés non pour informer, non dans ce cas pour relier des gens en action, certainement pas pour exprimer une pensée ... '
> Par cette observation, Malinowski introduit dans le discours scientifique une idée qui avait été formulée dès L'Antiquité: les actions verbales sont des actions comme les autres, le langage est (peut être) action. Une phrase a un sens mais elle a aussi une fonction (d'action); si dans l'examen du sens on peut s'en tenir à l'énoncé, il est évident que dans la deuxième cas nous avons affaire à l'énonciation de l'énoncé: l'énoncé en lui-même est un fait, non une action.
> Malinowski semble croire que seuls certains énoncés

> deviennent actions: là où la fonction des paroles est indépendante de leur sens. Mais il est facile de voir que nous sommes devant un cas extrême; si le sens est impliqué dans la fonction, celle-ci est dissimulée mais elle n'en existe pas moins. Car, après tout, 'informer' est une action comme une autre ...
> Ce n'est pas un hasard si nous découvrons cette observation chez un spécialiste des sociétés 'exotiques' plutôt que chez un linguiste qui étudie les langues européennes. Notre civilisation occidentale réfuse l'idée que le langage soit une action: les mots sont l'ombre des choses, le langage est l'expression de la pensée. Toutes les phrases servent à informer, or informer n'est pas une action. Même Malinowski ne conteste que la première moitié de ce raisonnement (on trouve chez Freud un autre example de la même attitude). 'Parler au lieu d'agir' se conçoit beaucoup plus facilement que 'parler c'est agir'." (Todorov 1970:4)

The paragraph which Todorov quotes from Malinowski (not directly - Todorov refers to Benveniste) is the following from "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages":

> "A mere phrase of politeness, in use as much among savage tribes as in an European drawing-room, fulfils a function to which the meaning of its words is almost completely irrelevant. Inquiries about health, comments on weather, affirmations of some supremely obvious state of things – all such are exchanged, not in order to inform, not in this case in order to connect people in action, certainly not in order to express any thought." (1923a:313)

2. The Author

For information about Malinowski, I quote from the article about him in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition 1974:

> "BronisŁaw Kasper Malinowski was born on April 7, 1884, in Cracow, a former capital of Poland. His father, Lucjan, a professor of Slavic philology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, was a linguist of some reputation who had studied Polish dialect and folklore in Silesia. His mother, Józefa, née Łącka, of a moderately wealthy land-owning family, was highly cultured and a good linguist. Early afflicted by the ill health that dogged him throughout life, in his teens Malinowski travelled extensively in the Mediterranean region with his mother, who was by then widowed. Although his early education was conducted largely at home, he subsequently attended the Jagiellonian university, completing his doctorate in 1908, with highest grade honours in

philosophy, with physics and mathematics as subsidiaries. Happening upon Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, an encyclopaedic treatment of religious and magical practices, Malinowski was enthralled and long afterward traced his enthusiasm for anthropology to it. After contact with the newer psychologies and economics in Leipzig, he came in 1910 to the London School of Economics and Political Science, where anthropology had been recently established as a discipline.

For the next quarter-century Malinowski's career was oriented toward London. A prolific writer, he soon published reinterpretations of Australian Aboriginal data from literature then very popular in anthropological circles. These gained him a reputation and promoted his plans for field research, and in 1914 he was able to go to New Guinea. Six months' work among the Mailu on the south coast produced a monograph that, while lacking theoretical development, was sufficient—along with his study of the Australian family—to earn him a doctor of science (D.Sc.) degree from London in 1916. When he moved to the nearby Trobriand islands, where he worked for two years in 1915-16 and 1917-18, Malinowski's talents flowered. Living in a tent among the people, speaking the vernacular fluently, recording 'texts' freely on the scene of action as well as in set interviews, and observing reactions with an acute clinical eye, Malinowski was able to present a dynamic picture of social institutions that clearly separated ideal norms from actual behavior. In later publications on ceremonial exchange, on agricultural economics, on sex, marriage, and family life, on primitive law and custom, on magic and myth, he drew heavily on his Trobriand data in putting forward theoretical propositions of basic significance and stimulus in the development of social anthropology. [...]"

"In the 1930s he became much interested in Africa; was closely associated with the International African Institute; visited students working among Bemba, Swazi, and other tribes in eastern and southern Africa; and wrote the introduction to Jomo Kenyatta's book *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), prepared as a diploma thesis under his supervision. (Kenyatta became president of Kenya in 1964.)

In 1938 Malinowski went on sabbatical leave to the United States. [...] He died unexpectedly, of a heart attack, in New Haven on May 16, 1942. His teaching career during those last years had been less remarkable than before, but he had been able to study peasant markets in Mexico in 1940 and 1941 and had plans for a study of social change in Mexican-Indian communities."

3. Setting

The Trobriand islands are situated at 8°40' S, 151°07' E off the southern end of the north-eastern coast of the mainland of New

Guinea. The islands are now part of Papua New Guinea, which comprises all of the eastern part of mainland New Guinea (the western part, former Dutch New Guinea, is now known as Irian Jaya and is a part of Indonesia). At the time of Malinowski's field work, they belonged to the Territory of Papua, a former British colony, which had been handed over to Australia in 1906. The area north of Papua, now a part of Papua New Guinea as well, had been a German possession from 1884 to 1914, when Australian troops moved in; after 1921, it was an Australian mandate of the League of Nations (Trust Territory of New Guinea). The map on page 23 gives a general idea of the surrounding area. As it says, it is actually part of a map of the German possessions in the Pacific, taken from the *Deutscher Kolonialatlas* of the year 1910. The main island of the Trobriands, Boyowa, is here recorded under its other name, Kiriwina, south of Neu-Pommern (New Britain) and north of the d'Entrecasteaux islands.

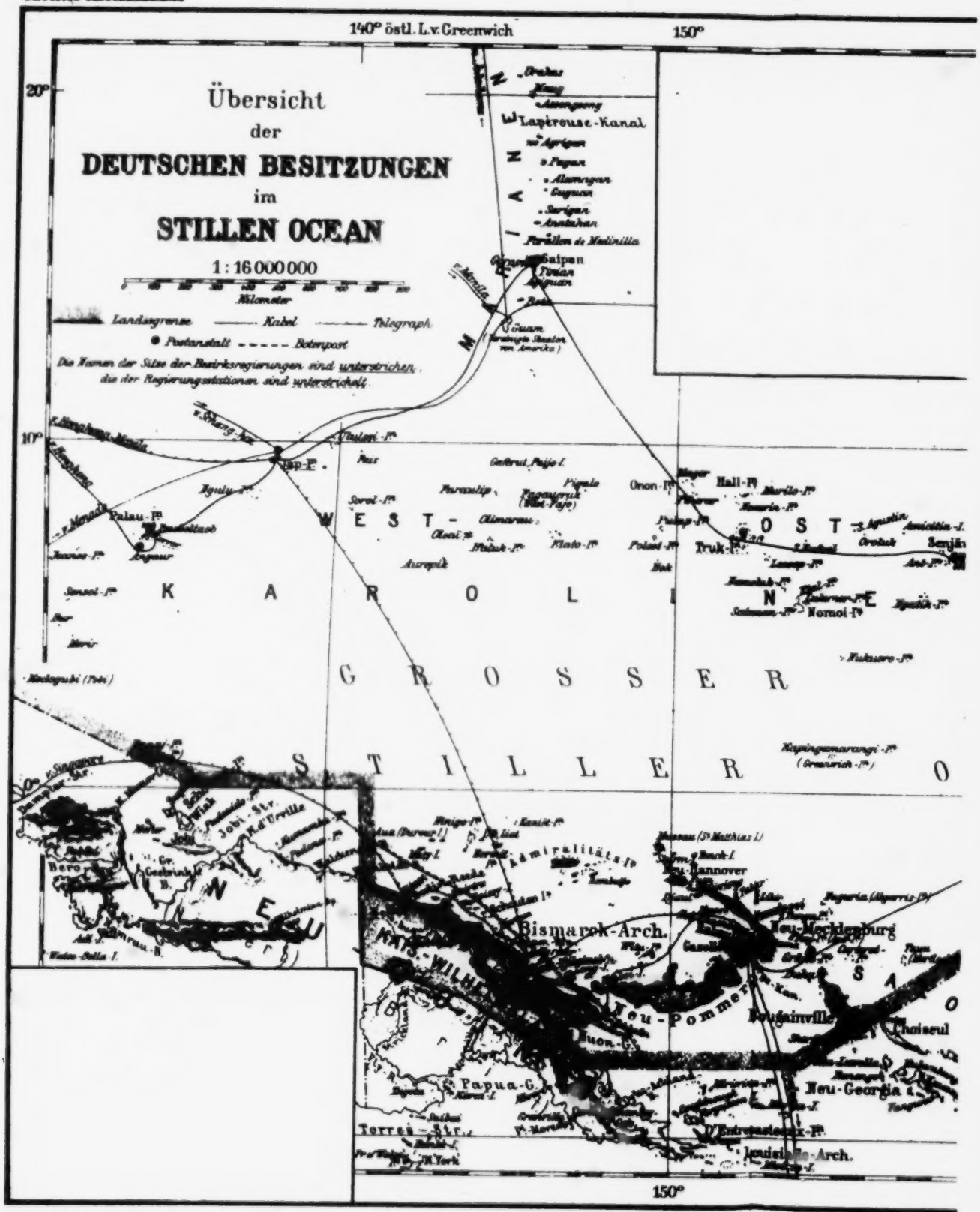
The anthropological and ethnographical literature on New Guinea is plentiful, and full of romanticism and marvel at the exotic. There are especially two customs that provoke considerable interest on the part of the visitor from overseas: head-hunting and cannibalism. A couple of quotes:

> "In ihrem Charakter [i.e., the natives'] treten als Hauptzüge Argwohn und Hinterlist hervor; dabei fehlt es ihnen aber nicht an Mut und Kriegslust. Die Frauen (es herrscht eine gemässigte Vielweiberei) werden vom Mann gekauft, der damit das Recht über Leben und Tod über sie erwirbt. Alle sind ausgesprochene Kannibalen; die Kriegsgefangenen und gefallenen Feinde werden verspeist." (Meyers Konversationslexikon, 5th Edition, 1895, s.v. Bismarck-Archipel)

> " In olden days, before the advent of white man, these pleasant, apparently effete people were inveterate cannibals and head-hunters, and in their large war-canoes they carried on treacherous, cruel raids, falling upon sleeping villages, killing man, woman and child, and feasting on their bodies. The attractive stone circles in their villages were associated with their cannibal feasts." (Malinowski (1922:37) on the Southern Massim of the South-Eastern tip of the New Guinea mainland)

> "Few crops grow in the area [of the Sepik river in Mid-Northern New Guinea, on the map Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss]. There

Kleiner Kolonialatlas



Red. v. P. Sprigade u. M. Moisel.

Geographische Verlagshandlung DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN)

> are fish. This availability of protein probably contributed to the reason why the river people were basically head-hunters and not cannibals." (Mann and Mann 1972:72)

We can imagine, though, that the cannibals' practices had a similar effect on their non-cannibal neighbours: Malinowski (1922:321) refers to a mythological explanation why the people of Boyowa (Kiriwina) do not eat people and why the Dobu, their southern neighbours, do.

4. Language

It is generally acknowledged that New Guinea is one of the linguistically most diversified places in the world. It is estimated that about one fifth of the languages of the world is spoken in New Guinea (and the adjacent islands).

Languages spoken in the New Guinea area belong to either of two language groups: Austronesian and Papuan (the Papuan languages are sometimes called Non-Austronesian, in order to avoid the implication that they form a genetic or otherwise related group).

In the New Guinea area, about 750 different Papuan (Non-Austronesian) languages are spoken (Wurm 1975:7); the number for the Austronesian languages is about 300 (Wurm 1975:4). For information about Papuan languages one can consult Volume 1 of "New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study", edited by Stephen A. Wurm, "Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene" (Wurm ed. 1975).

The Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area (of which the language spoken on the Trobriands is one)

> "belong to the far-flung Austronesian group whose domain extends from Madagascar in the West across Indonesia, some parts of the South East Asian mainland and the Philippines to taiwan in the north, and across Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia to Hawaii and Easter Island in the north-east and east." (Wurm 1975:5)

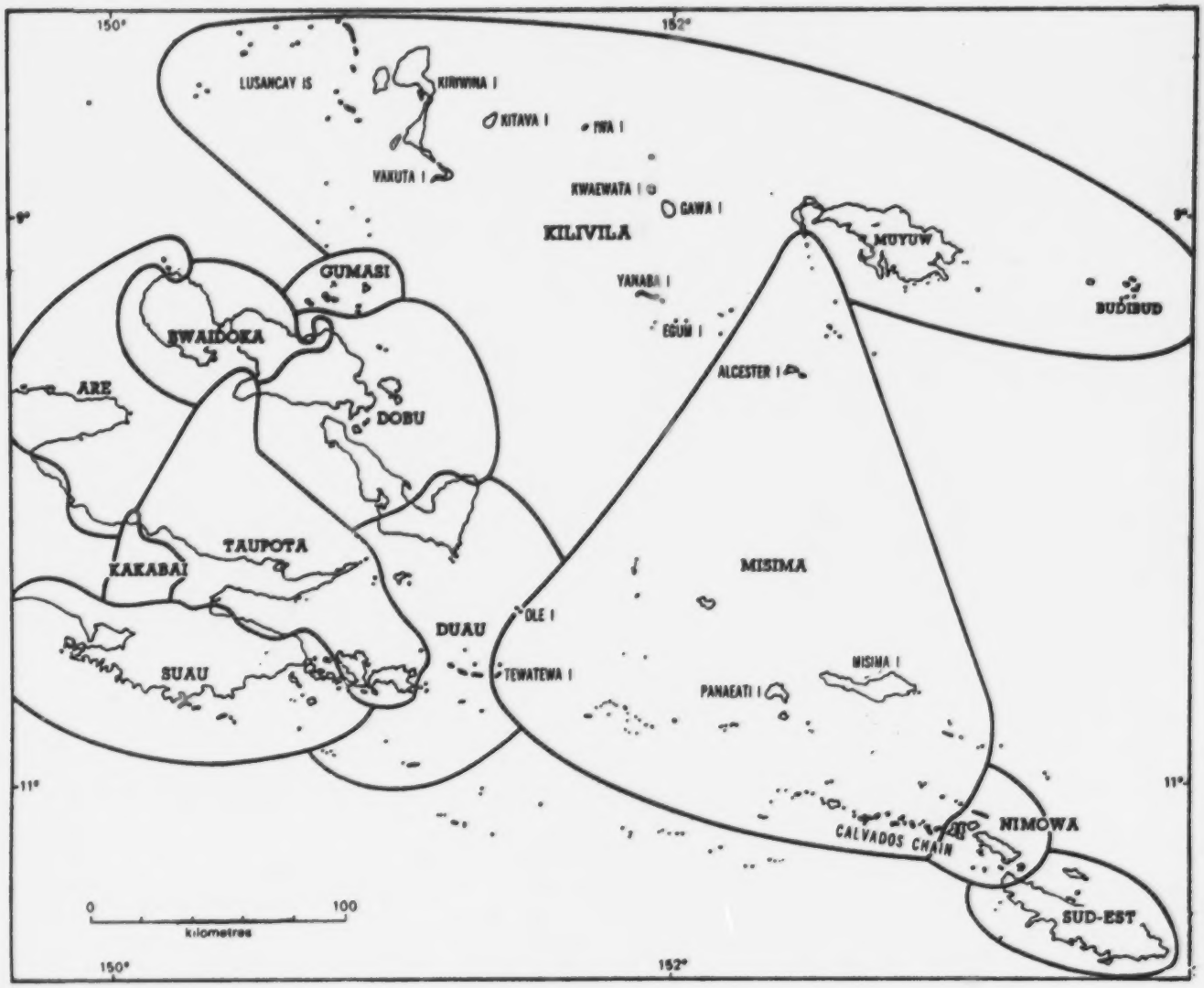
For the language group, the two names Malayo-Polynesian (which goes back to Humboldt) and Austronesian (which was introduced by W. Schmidt in 1899) are now in current use (Dyen 1971:5).

There is no generally acknowledged sub-grouping of Austronesian. One important sub-group of Austronesian is called WEST INDONESIAN by Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:175-181). It includes Malagasy (on Madagascar, 5,000,000 speakers), Javanese (45,000,000 speakers), and Malay (10,000,000 speakers; Bahasa Indonesia, the official language of Indonesia, is a dialect of Malay). Another sub-group is called "Eastern Malayo-Polynesian" by Grace (1955) and handled as "OCEANIC = EASTERN AUSTRONESIAN" by Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:266-267, with cross-references). Voegelin and Voegelin list 13 subgroups of OCEANIC, many of which are purely geographical. They list Kiriwina with 8,600 speakers as one of the languages of their PAPUA (geographic) AUSTRONESIAN subgroup (Voegelin and Voegelin 1977:46-47).

Ray (1938) lists a group of languages in the south-eastern division of Papua, which he calls "North Melanesian Group", and which roughly corresponds to Lithgow's Kilivila family (with Bwaidoka and the language spoken on Alcester Island, see below) (Ray 1938: 165). Capell (1971:272) has a group "Trobriand Island and Dependencies", which comprises Kiriwina, Gawa (Marshall Bennett Island), Nada (on Laughlin Island, Lithgow's Budibud) and Muyuw (on Murua or Woodlark Island).

Lithgow (1976b:448-449) lists the following languages and language families in the Milne Bay area:

FAMILY	LANGUAGE	POPULATION
SUD-EST	Sud-Est (Tagula)	1,700
NIMOWA	Nimowa (Nimoa)	1,100
MISIMA	Misima (Panayati)	7,200



Language families in the Milne Bay District according to Lithgow.

The map is from Lithgow (1976b:442). Some island names are left out; cf. Ray's maps on page 30/31. MUYUW is spoken on Woodlark Island (Murua), BUDIBUD on Laughlin Islands, and GUMASI on the Amphletts.

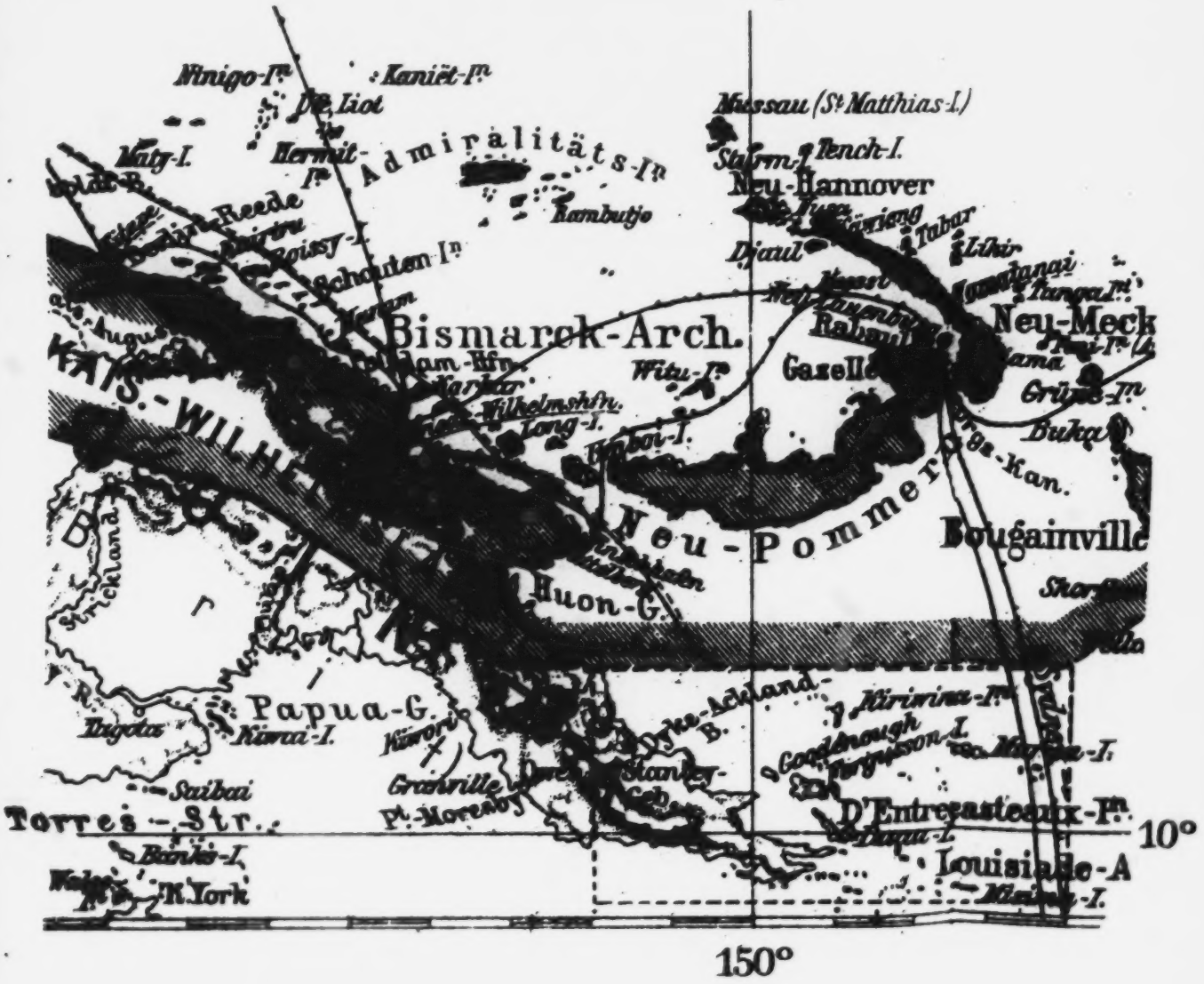
FAMILY	LANGUAGE	POPULATION
KILIWILA	Budibud (Nada)	170
	Muyuw (Murua)	3,000
	Kiliwila (Kiriwina)	14,000
GUMASI	Gumasi (Domdom)	250
BWAIDOKA	Iduna (Vivigani)	4,960
	Diodio	1,170
	Bwaidoka (Bwaidoga)	5,380
	Kalokalo	725
	Yamalele (Iamalele)	2,560
	Fagululu	416
ARE	Doga (Magabara)	200
	Gabobora (Anuki)	500
	Are (Mukawa)	1,100
	Paiwa (Manape)	1,600
	Boanaki (Galavi)	1,700
	Wataluma (Watuluma)	190
TAUPOTA	Wedau	2,180
	Kukuya	1,230
	Taupota	2,660
	Garuwahi	225
	Tawala (Tavara)	7,790
KAKABAI	Kakabai (Igora)	880
	Dawawa (Mia-i-topa)	1,640
SUAU	Sinaki (Gaidasu)	325
	Bohutu (Buhutu)	1,065
	Wagawaga	1,020
	Suau	6,470
DUAU	Tubetube	1,190
	Duau (Duwau)	6,050
	Bunama	1,050
	Kurada (Nuakata)	935
	Mwatebu	166
DOBU	Sewa Bay	1,515
	Dobu	7,680
	Molima (Morima)	2,670
	Galeya (Galea)	1,875
	Bosilewa	350

Wurm says about the general geographical distribution of Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area:

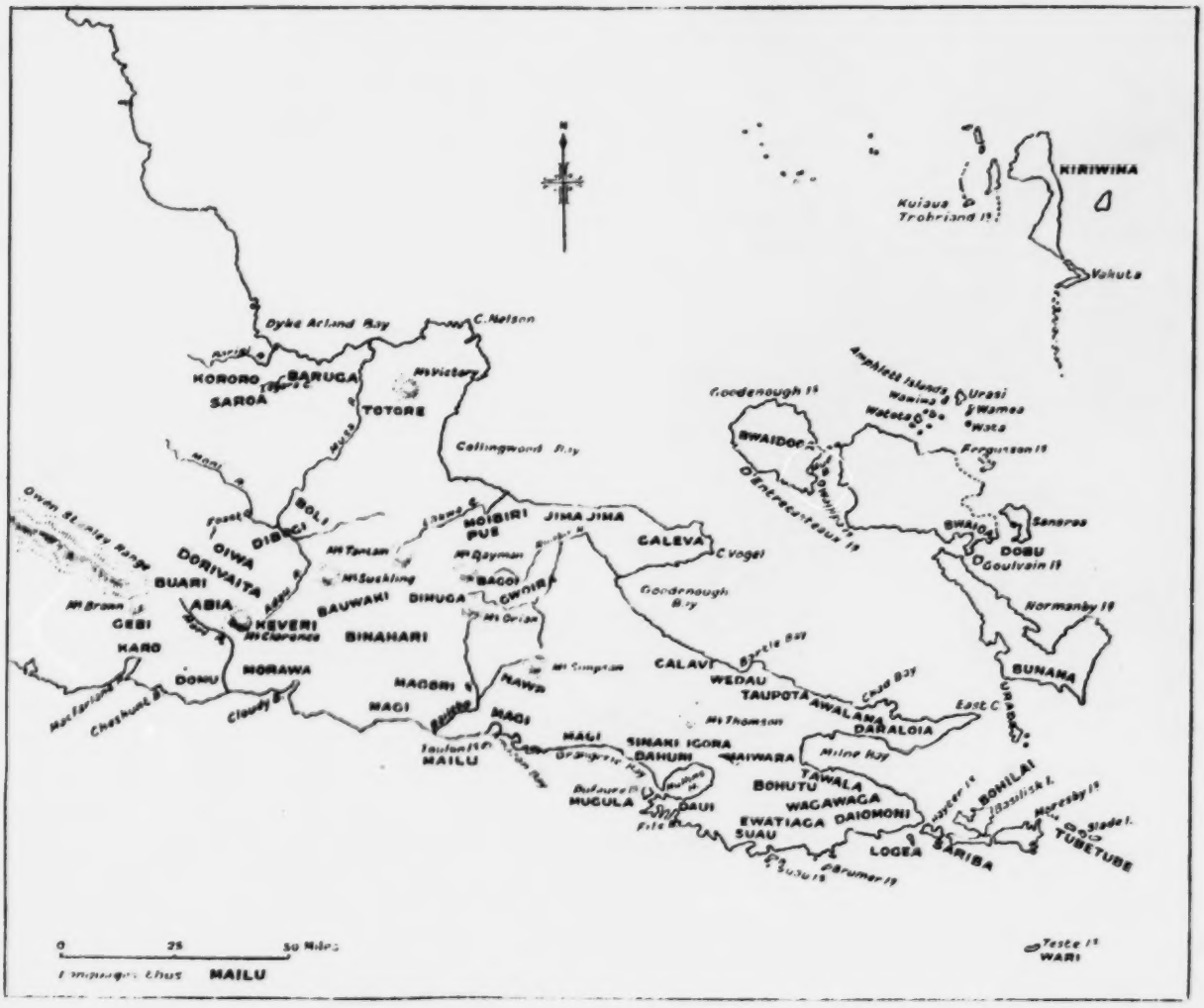
> "The Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area are very predominantly located in coastal, near coastal and insular areas, only in the Markham, Watut and Bulolu River Valley system in the Morobe District, in the mainland portion of the Milne Bay District, some southern parts of the Central District, and in the neck portion of the Vogelkop Peninsula in Irian Jaya are Austronesian languages spoken at a considerable distance from the coast. Their total number in the New Guinea area [...] is probably over three hundred, but most of them are spoken by small speech communities only - two notable exceptions in Papua New Guinea are for instance Tolai in Northern New Britain [on the Gazelle Peninsula, -HH.] and Motu in the Port Moresby area which have 65,000 and well over 10,000 speakers respectively - and the total number of speakers of Austronesian languages in Papua New Guinea for instance constitutes only a comparatively small fraction of the total indigenous population. In Papua New Guinea, two-thirds of the Austronesian languages are spoken in the eastern half of the mainland area of the Milne Bay District and in the insular region of that district, the Admiralty Islands and the New Britain-New Ireland area, and the northern half of the Bougainville island area." (Wurm 1975:4)

If you compare Lithgow's figures (quoted here on p. 29-30) for the languages of the Milne Bay area with Wurm's statement that Motu with 10,000 speakers is a notable exception to the fact that most Austronesian languages of New Guinea only are spoken by tiny speech communities, then it appears that at least some of the languages of the Milne Bay area can compete with the notable exception, Motu, by being spoken by a population of more than 7,000 speakers: Misima (7,200), Dobu (7,680), Tawala (7,990) and Kiriwina (14,000). Of course, Lithgow is talking about population, not speakers of the language, which might make a difference. (Comparing Voegelin and Voegelin's (1977:47) figure for Kiriwina (8,600) with Lithgow's (14,000) and the figure the Encyclopedia Britannica gives for the Trobrian Islands (1974 Edition), "the indigenous Melanesian population numbered 12,700 in 1971", makes it clear that all these figures have to be taken with a grain of salt.)

In Capell (1969:22ff.), a typological subgrouping of New Guinea

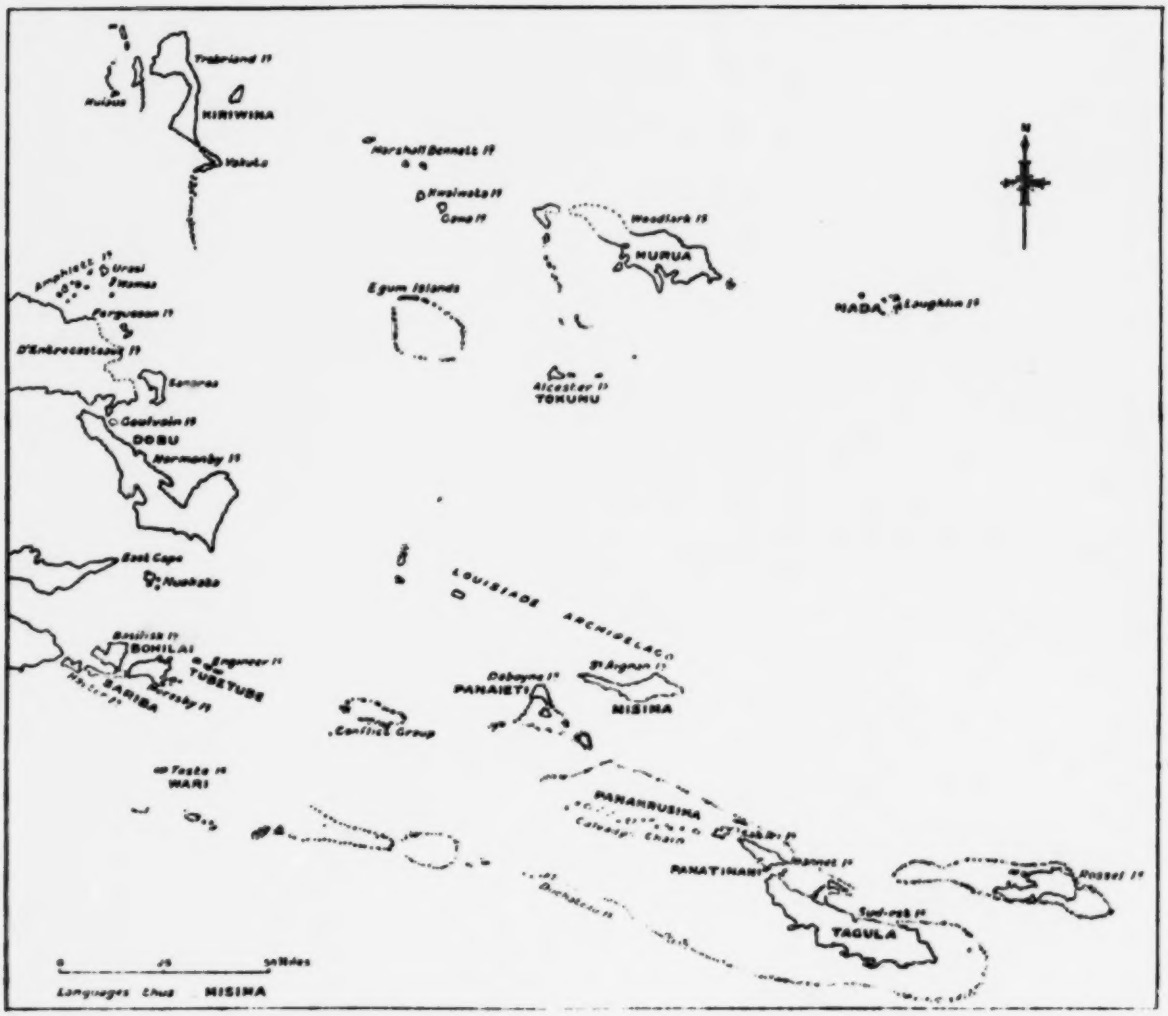


Detail from the same map as on page 23. The Trobriand Archipelago (Kiriwina) is located at 8°40'S and 151°07'E. Cape York in the lower left hand corner is the northern tip of the mainland of Australia. The area covered by the maps from Ray 1938, reproduced on the following pages, is surrounded by ----------.



Languages of the Eastern division of Papua (Ray 1938:154)

(NB. Ray's maps contain both AN and NAN languages of the area.)



Languages of the South-Eastern division of Papua (Ray 1938:166)

Austronesian languages is suggested; the groups are called AN_1 and AN_2. For reasons explained in Capell (1976a:48), the order is reversed in Capell (1971) and later on: AN_1 in Capell (1969) is now AN_2 and vice versa. AN_1 languages have the basic word order of SOV like most Papuan (Non-Austronesian, NAN) languages. AN_2 languages have SVO word order like most Austronesian languages outside the New Guinea area.

Kiriwina belongs to the AN_2 group, that is, the basic word order is SVO.

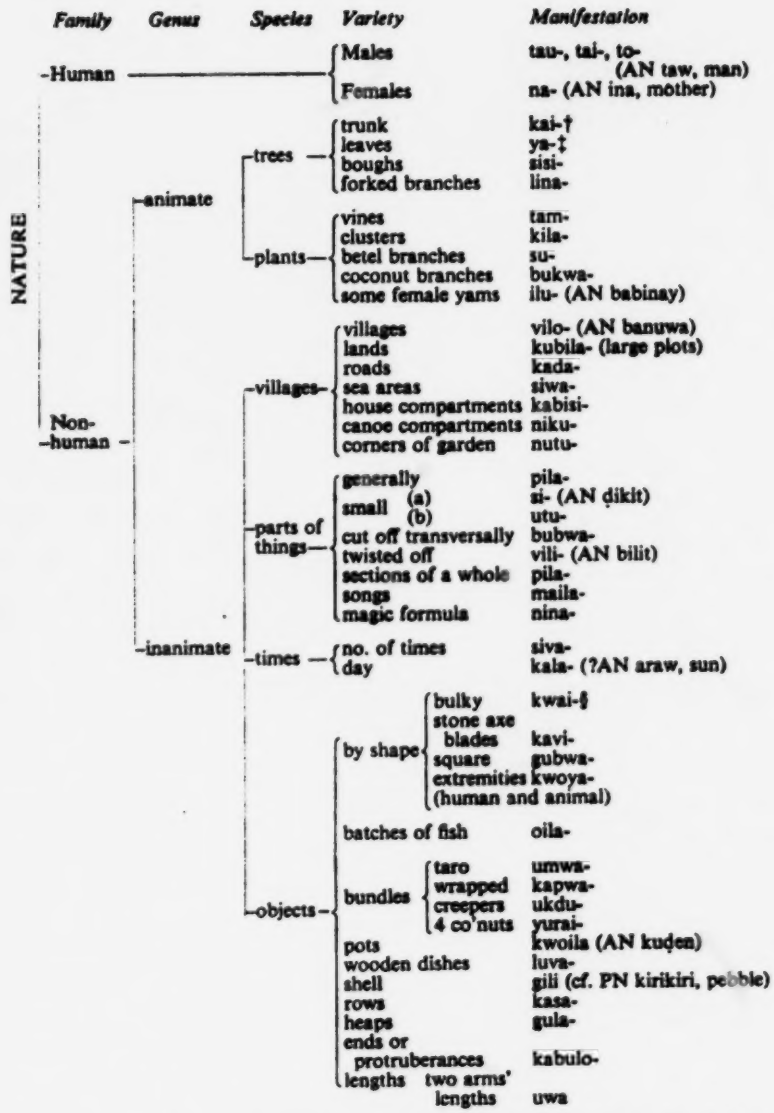
There is one outstanding feature of the Kiriwina language, and that is its elaborate system of noun classifiers. (The following is based on Malinowski (1920b), Capell (1969:60-62) and Lithgow (1976b:465-467). Lithgow's data are mainly from Muyuw, the language spoken on Murua (Woodlark Island), which is closely related to Kiriwina.)

> "Alone among the AN languages, the Kiriwina subgroup [which, according to Capell (1969:128) also contains the languages of Gawa, Murua (that is, Muyuw), Nada (Laughlin island; that is, Budibud) and possibly that of the Amphletts —HH.] has noun-classification with concord of demonstratives, adjectives, and pronouns [...]. In the Admiralty Islands [...] nouns are grouped into numerous classes for the purpose of counting, but no other word types are involved, i.e. there is no syntactic concord as in Kiriwina and the NAN object-dominated languages." (Capell 1969:60)

(I have left out the concept of object-domination (vs. event-domination) here. Capell develops a different typological subgrouping of New Guinea languages (both AN and NAN (Papuan)) with the help of these concepts.) The diagram on the opposite page shows the noun classes of Kiriwina alongside with their respective 'classifiers'. The classifiers are added to adjectives:

ta'u to-viyaka
man big

waga kai-viyaka
canoe big



† *kai-* is also used for wooden objects, and long objects (partaking of the nature of 'tree' either in kind or in shape).

‡ *ya-*, also fibres or objects made of leaf or fibre; and for flat and thin objects.

§ *kwai-* besides its use for stones and round, bulky objects, this prefix is also used for abstract nouns.

Noun-class divisions in Kiriwina (from Capell 1969:61)

to numerals with nouns:

vaigua	kwai-ketoki	kwai-lima
valuable	small baskets	five

to demonstratives with nouns:

ma-kai-na	waga
this	canoe

But they can also be used with demonstratives alone:

boge	ikewasi	kai-yu
already	they-sailed	two

would mean the same as

boge	ikewasi	kai-yu	waga
already	they-sailed	two	canoe

Also:

ma-kai-na	waga	aikota,	ma-kai-we-na	aikeulo.
this	canoe	anchored	that	sailed

Nouns take possession affixes. There is a distinction between "intimate", "intermediate" and "distant" possession, and a special form for food. The singular forms are (Lithgow 1976b:521):

	INTIMATE	INTERMEDIATE	DISTANT	FOOD
my	-gu	agu-	ulo-	kagu
your	-m	kam-	m-	kam
her, his	-la	kala-	la-	kala

In some cases, the distinction between 'intimate' and 'intermediate' seems to be the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession: cf. (Malinowski 1923b:104)

buyavi-gu 'bodily blood' (inalienable)
blood

agu-buyavi 'menstrual blood' (alienable)
blood

> "While ordinary bodily blood is mentioned always with the pronoun of nearest possession, which pertains to all the parts of a human body, menstruous blood is spoken of with the same possessive pronouns as ornamentation and parts of apparel (second nearest possession)." (1923b:104)

The languages of Lithgow's Kilivila family have no tense markers, but

> "a clear distinction is made between completed or definite actions, and intended actions, where this distinction is significant. Customary actions are grouped with intended actions." (Lithgow 1976b:486)

The following data are from Muyuw:

b-i-sés 'let it stay, it will stay, if it stays' (unreal, 3.sg.)
stay

n-i-sés 'it is there' (real, 3. sg.)

As to the semantic aspect of the language, much can be seen from the texts quoted in Malinowski's writings about the Trobriand islanders. It might suffice to mention one particular detail, which is a consistent reflection of the Trobrianders' non-recognition of a connection between the act of love-making and human reproduction.

> "They call both the male and the female discharge by the same name (*momona* or *momola*), and they ascribe to both of them the same origin in the kidneys and the same function, that of lubricating the mebrane and of adding to the pleasure." (Malinowski 1923b:102)

Further references. For the information contained in this section (on language), the following books and articles can be referred to:

CAPELL, Arthur 1969. A survey of New Guinea languages. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

A general overview of New Guinea languages, both Non-Austronesian (Papuan) and Austronesian. Grammatical details and plenty of maps; bibliography.

A very broad general overview can be gathered from Volume 8 of *Current Trends in Linguistics*, and Wurm's monumental work on the New Guinea linguistic scene, respectively:

SEBEOK, Thomas A. et al. eds. 1971. Current trends in linguistics, volume 8: Linguistics in Oceania. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

WURM, Stephen A. ed. 1975. New Guinea area languages and language study. Vol. 1. Papuan linguistics and the New Guinea linguistic scene. Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Linguistics.

WURM, Stephen A. ed. 1976. New Guinea area languages and language study, Vol. 2. Austronesian languages. Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Linguistics.

In these volumes, especially the following contributions are of interest:

DYEN, Isidore 1971. The Austronesian languages and Proto-Austronesian. In: Sebeok et al. ed. 1971, pp. 5-54.

CAPELL, Arthur 1976a. General picture of Austronesian languages, New Guinea area. In: Wurm ed. 1976, pp. 5-52

GRACE, George W. 1976. History of research in Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area: General. In: Wurm ed. 1976, pp. 53-71

CAPELL, Arthur 1976b. Features of Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area in general in contrast with other Austronesian languages of Melanesia. In: Wurm ed. 1976, pp. 235-282

For more specific information about Kiriwina, the following references are useful (and CAPELL 1969 mentioned above):

CAPELL, Arthur 1971. The Austronesian languages of Australian New Guinea. In: Sebeok et al. 1971, pp. 240-340.

This article contains numerous references to Kiriwina and the following information:
"Kiriwina is the best known of these [i.e. the languages of the Kiriwina group —HH], being documented by Fellows (1901), Malinowski ([1917-]1920, 1935) and even earlier a vocabulary published in the Annual Report for British New Guinea in 1891-93, pp. 102-6. The language is in active use by two missions, both of which have published literature in it. There is also native literature published by Fr. Baldwin (1945, 1950) [...]. The

language is discussed fairly fully, and with it the other members of the group, in Capell (1943:85-95, 232-6). Depth study of Muyuw and a survey of the remaining languages is currently being done by Dr. D. Lithgow and his wife, as members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics stationed in that area." (1971:272)

MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw 1920. Classificatory particles in the language of Kiriwina. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol.1 (1917-1920), 4:33-78

MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw 1935. Coral gardens and their magic. Vol. 2, The language of magic and gardening. London: George Allen & Unwin

RAY, Sidney H. 1938. The languages of the eastern and south-eastern divisions of Papua. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 68:153-208

The article contains grammatical and lexical information on a number of the languages of the area, among them Kiriwina.

LITHGOW, David R. 1976a. History of research in Austronesian languages: Milne Bay Province. In: Wurm ed. 1976, pp. 157-170

Most useful bibliographical material including references to unpublished material. Lists publications of linguists, anthropologists, missionaries and SIL members.

LITHGOW, David R. 1976b. Austronesian languages: Milne Bay and adjacent islands (Milne Bay Province). In: Wurm ed 1976, pp. 441-523

Plenty of material (grammar, lexicon). Most material on Kilivila family is from Muyuw (Murua Island).

5. Boyowa Island

Boyowa is the main island of the Trobriands. Of the other islands, Tuma has a special significance, because it is the island where the *baloma*, the spirits of the deceased, dwell (Malinowski 1916).

In the Encyclopedia Britannica (15th edition 1974), the Trobriand islands are described as follows:

"**Trobriand islands**, coral formations in the Solomon Sea of the southwest Pacific, in the Milne Bay District of the

> Australian external territory of Papua, 90 mi (145 km) north of the southeasternmost extension of the island of New Guinea. The low-lying group, all composed of coralline limestone and many fringed by coral reefs, comprises four larger islands, Trobriand (Kiriwina), Kaileuna, Vakuta, and several islets, with a total land area of about 170 sq miles (440 sq km). The largest, Trobriand, is a raised atoll measuring 30 mi by 3-10 mi. Covered largely with swamp, it rises to 100 ft (30 m) at a central ridge. The island, the chief settlement of which is Losuia, was made an air and naval base for the Allies in 1943. The Trobriands produce yams in drier areas for export to plantations on other islands. The indigenous Melanesian population numbered 12,700 in 1971."

On the map reproduced on the opposite page, the fringing reef is not clearly indicated, but from a couple of technical remarks on fishing techniques in Malinowski's article "Fishing in the Trobriand islands" (1918) we get the impression that the reef lies around the island in the North, East and South, with gaps in between, and that it only leaves a narrow belt of water between the beach and itself. In the West, we have the large, shallow lagoon, where fish are plentiful. The lagoon is sheltered by a chain of reefs and small islands (of which only the islands seem to be on the map.) In "Argonauts of the Western Pacific", Malinowski gives a description of sailing across the sea-arm of Pilolu from the "bronzed rock and dark jungle" of the volcanic Amphletts to the "flat coral islands" (1922:49-51) of the Trobriands. Arriving at Boyowa (or Kiriwina),

> "[a]s we sail in the Lagoon, following the intricate passages between the shallows, and as we approach the main island, the thick, tangled matting of the low jungle breaks here and there over a beach, and we can see into a palm grove, like an interior, supported by pillars. This indicates the site of a village. We step ashore on to the sea front, as a rule covered with mud and refuse, with canoes drawn up high and dry, and passing through the grove, we enter the village itself.
> Soon we are seated on one of the platforms built in front of a yam-house, shaded by its overhanging roof. The round, grey logs, worn smooth by contact with naked feet and bodies; the trodden ground on the village street; the brown skins of the natives, who immediately surround the visitor in large groups—all these form a colour scheme of bronze and grey, unforget[t]able for anyone, who, like myself, has lived among these people." (1922:51)

Map IV—The Trobriand Archipelago, also called Boyowa or Kiriwina.

The Trobriand archipelago (map from Malinowski 1922:50)

In "The problem of meaning in primitive languages", Malinowski refers to two activities of the Trobriand islanders which are described in more detail in his ethnographical work: the text on pp. 300-301 refers to an "episode in an overseas trading expedition" (1923a:301), which is part of the system of "ceremonial barter" known as *kula*. In his description of how language functions as "a mode of action and not as an instrument of reflection" (1923a:312), he choses as an example the role of language in connection with fishing in the lagoon. The following two sections deal with background information about these two topics.

6. Fishing in the lagoon

Malinowski published a description of fishing in the Trobriand islands in the ethnographical magazine Man (Malinowski 1916). The article deals with all types of fishing on Boyowa: fishing in the lagoon, fishing on the fringing reef, and two types of fishing which only the people from the villages of the North engage in, namely the fishing of the *kalala* at full moon in spawning time (in the shallow waters between the beach and the fringing reef), and open sea shark fishing. (The *kalala* is probably a kind of mullet.) Malinowski's description of fishing in the lagoon is as follows:

> "The fishing in the shallow waters of the lagoon naturally differs from that on the fringing reef or in the open sea, [...]
>
> II. FISHING IN THE LAGOON
> Here, in water almost constantly calm, fishing can be done all the year round, and it has developed into a regular trade, as the villagers are often requested by an inland community to provide fish in exchange for yams. A number of very large villages lie on the shore among the palms that grow near the salt water. Each village has its own fishing grounds, upon which strangers very seldom trespass, though some fighting for that reason is on record. Some of the villages control coral patches in the lagoon, which afford specially good opportunities for fishing by means of the poisonous root of a creeper (*tuva*). These patches are owned by individuals, trespass being considered equivalent to theft, but it is usual for other men of the same village to hire a patch. In the villages where patches are owned, fishing with the poison

root only is practised, this form being by far the easiest and most reliable. A few men paddle in a fishing canoe to a place above a patch and cast a net so as to surround it completely. A parcel with some freshly-pounded *tuva* root is attached to the end of a long stick. A man dives and inserts this stick into one of the cavities with which all coral patches are riddled. Any fish in the hollow, i.e. in the neighborhood of the poison, come up to the surface, and are either so dazed that they float inert on the water, or else try to escape and become entangled in the net.
In villages which possess no claims to a patch the fish are simply caught in nets stretched between two canoes.
Besides these two main forms of fishing there are minor ones—by means of weirs, fish traps, and hand nets. The sting ray is taboo to a large number of villages, but there is one in the northern part of the island where this fish is eaten, and the inhabitants go out into the lagoon with long sharp poles to catch it." (1916:88)

7. The *kula*

A detailed description of the exchange system the Trobrianders take part in is given in Malinowski's book "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" (1922). This includes accounts of how canoes (*waga*) are built, the magic involved in this, and descriptions of voyages in the *kula* circle (with all the dangers to be encountered there, such as sorcerers and flying witches). For a short definition of the *kula* one can take the following from an earlier article:

"The distant and perilous trading expeditions of the South Sea islanders are a well-known feature of their tribal life. [...]
All these trading systems are based upon the exchange of indispensable or highly useful utilities, such as pottery, sago, canoes, dried fish and yams, the food being sometimes imported into islands or districts which are too small or too infertile to be self-supporting. The trading system, however, which will be described in this paper, differs in this and many other respects from the usual Oceanic forms of exchange. It is based primarily upon the circulation of two articles of high value, but of no real use,—these are armshells made of the *Conus millepunctatus*, and necklets of red shell-discs, both intended for ornaments, but hardly ever used, even for this purpose. These two articles travel, in a manner to be described later in detail, on a circular route which covers many miles and extends over many islands. On this circuit, the necklaces travel in the direction of the clock hands and the armshells in the opposite direction. Both articles never stop for any length of time in the hands of any owner; they constantly move,

constantly meeting and being exchanged.
This trading system, the *Kula*, embraces, with its ramifications, not only the islands off the East End of New Guinea, but also the Lousiades, Woodlark Island [Murua, —HH.], the Loughlans, the Trobriand Archipelagole and the D'Entrecasteaux Group. It touches the continent of New Guinea and extends its indirect influence over several outlying districts, such as Sud-Est Island, Rossell Island, and stretches of the northern and southern coast of the mainland. A glance at the map will show the enormous geographical extent of the trading system, and the statement may here be anticipated that the *Kula* looms paramount in the tribal life of all the peoples, who participate in it. These peoples belong to that branch of the Papuo-Melanesians whom Dr. Seligman calls the Massim [...]. Some of them, living on big islands, have a very highly-developed agriculture, and they harvest each year a crop amply sufficient for their needs and with a good deal to spare. Such are the natives of Woodlark Islands, of the Trobriands, of the d'Entrecasteaux Group. Others, again, who live on very small islands, like the volcanic Amphlett Rocks, Wari (Teste Island), Tubetube (Engineer Group), and some of the Marshall Bennett Islands, are not self-supporting as far as food goes. They are, on the other hand, specialised in certain industries, notably pottery and canoe-building, and they are monopolists in intermediary trade. Thus it is evident that exchange of goods has to obtain between them. The important point about it, however, is that with them, and notably according to their own ideas, the exchange of utilities is a subsidiary trade, carried on as an incident in the *Kula*.
The *Kula* has been called above "a form of trade". The usual a priori notion of savage trade would be that of an exchange of indispensable, or, at least, useful things, done under pressure of need by direct barter, or casual give and take of presents, without much ceremony or regulation. Such a conception would almost reverse all the essential features of the *Kula*. Thus, first, the objects of exchange—the armshells and strings of shell-discs—are not "utilities" in any sense of the word; as said above, they are hardly ever used as ornaments, for which purpose they could serve. Nevertheless, they are extremely highly valued; nowadays a native will give up to £20 for a good article, and in olden days their value was an equivalent of this sum, if we take as a common measure such utilities as basketfuls of yams, pigs and other such commodities. Secondly, the exchange, far from being casual or surreptitious, is carried on according to very definite and very complex rules. Thus it cannot be performed between members of these tribes taken at random. A firm and lifelong relationship is always established between any participant in the *Kula*, and a number of other men, some of whom belong to his own community, and others to overseas communities. Such men call one another *karayta'u* ("partner," as we shall designate them), and they are under mutual obligations

to trade with each other, to offer protection, hospitality and assistance whenever needed.
Let us imagine that we look at the whole system from one definite point, choosing the large village of Sinaketa in the Trobriand Islands. An old chief in that village would have, say, some hundred partners southwards, and about as many again to the north and east, while a young commoner would have only a few on both sides. It must be remembered that not all men in a village take part in the *Kula*, and some villages are out of it altogether.
Now another definite rule is that the armshells must always be traded to the south, and the necklets of shell-beads to the north. [This, of course, is the way the rule is looked at from the point of view of a man from Sinaketa on Boyowa. For an inhabitant of Laughlan Islands, arm-shells travel northeast (to Murua) and necklaces south (to Misima Island). —HH.] The word "traded" is, of course,

LOADING LARGE CLAYPOTS IN THE AMPHLETT ISLANDS, IN CONNECTION WITH THE *KULA*.

only a rough approximation. Let us suppoose that I, a Sinaketa man, am in possession of a pair of big armshells. An overseas expedition from Dobu in the d'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, arrives at my village. Blowing a conch shell, I take my armshell pair and offer it to my overseas partner, with some such words, 'This is a *vaga* '(initial gift)—in due time, thou returnest to me a big '*soulava* (necklace) for it!' Next year, when I visit my partner's village, he is either in possession of an equivalent necklace, and this he gives to me as *yotile* (restoration gift), or he has not a necklace good enough to repay my last gift. In this case he will give me a smaller necklace—awovedly not equivalent to my gift—and will give it to me as *basi* (intermediate gift). This means that the main gift has to be repaid on a future occasion and the *basi* is given in token of good faith—but it, in turn,

> must be repaid by me in the meantime by a gift of small armshells. The final gift, which will be given to me to clinch the the whole transaction, would then be called *kudu* (equivalent gift) in contrast to *basi.*" (Malinowski 1920a:97-99)

8. Method

This is not the place to discuss functionalism in anthropology, and what linguists (and students of social institutions, where language plays a role) can learn from it. In the beginning of the chapter on "Canoes and Sailing" in "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" the central idea is expressed very clearly, so it will be enough to quote the first lines of the chapter:

> "A canoe is an item of material culture, and as such it can be described, photographed and even bodily transported into a museum. But—and this is a truth too often overlooked—the ethnographic reality of the canoe would not be brought much nearer to a student at home, even by placing a perfect specimen right before him.
> The canoe is made for a certain use, and with a definite purpose; it is a means to an end, and we, who study native life, must not reverse this relation, and make a fetish of the object itself." (1922:105)

Another point, already suggested in the quote about the *kula* above, is the relationship (or difference) between what people do, and what they think they do. Already Malinowski's first article dealing with the Trobrianders (Malinowski 1916) discusses this point; he says,

> "there seems to be some possibility of death by old age, especially in the case of very insignificant old men and women. Several times, when I was asking of what a man had died, I received the answer, 'He was very old and weak and he just died.' But when I asked about M'tabalu, a very old and decrepit man, the chief of Kasana'i, whether he was going to die soon, I was told that, if no *silami* (evil spell) were thrown on him, there was no reason why he should not go on living. Again, it must be remembered that a *silami* is a private thing, not to be talked about except with intimate friends. It must be emphasized that the 'ignorance of natural death' is the general typical attitude expressed in custom and reflected in such legal and moral institutions as exist, rather than some kind

> of absolute apodictic statement, excluding any contradictions and uncertainties." (Malinowski 1916:360, fn. 3)

9. Appendix I: Malinowski's critique of Freud

It is probably not generally known among linguists that Malinowski formulated some criticism of Freud's psychoanalysis, especially the concept of the Oedipus complex. The point of this critique is simply that the Oedipus complex as described by Freud presupposes a European middle or upper class nuclear family. The family pattern found on the Trobriands is different from the European in that what we would call the 'father' of a child (the term in Kiriwina is *tama*) is not considered a relative of the child; therefore, he has no authority over it. One's *tama* is the man one's mother sleeps with, and lives together with, but this doesn't imply any biological relationship between him and the child, nor any authority. The man who has authority over a person is the one whom the child calls *kadu-gu* (Malinowski 1923b:101; for *-gu* see above p. 34). This is the mother's brother.

> "Now this person, owing to the strict taboo which prevents all friendly relations between brothers and sisters, has never been and can never be an intimate of hers and therefore of her household. She recognises his authority, and bends before him as a commoner before a chief, but there can never be tender relationships between them. Her children are, however, his direct heirs and successors, and he wields over them the direct *potestas*. At his death his worldly goods pass into their keeping, and during his lifetime he has to hand over to them any special accomplishment he may possess—dances, songs, myths, magic and crafts. He also it is who supplies his sister and her household with food, the greater part of his garden produce going to them. To the father, therefore, the children look only for loving care and tender companionship. Their mother's brother represents the principle of discipline, authority and executive power within the family." (1924a:298)

The difference between a Western middle-class nuclear family and the family in a matrilinear society becomes thus clear:

> "In the normal family with us we have the authoritative, powerful husband and father backed up by society. We have

> also the economic arrangement whereby he is the bread-winner, and can—nominally at least—withhold supplies or be generous with them at his will. In the Trobriands, on the other hand, we have the independent mother, her husband who has nothing to do with the procreation of the children, and is not the bread-winner, who cannot leave his possessions to the children, and has sociologically no established authority over them. The mother's relatives are endowed with very powerful influence, especially her brother, who is the authoritative person, the producer of supplies for the family, and whose possessions the son will inherit at his death." (1924a:299)

From this it becomes clear that psychoanalysis is a sociological doctrine (1924a:294) and must have a social content. Psychoanalysts "cannot reach correct results when they try to trace the Oedipus-complex, essentially a patriarchal one, in a matrilineal society." (1924a:296).

This is a striking parallel to Malinowski's criticism of Ogden and Richards (as expressed in "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages"). (The parallel goes even further: Malinowski managed to get his critique printed as a supplement to Ogden and Richard's book; his article on "Psycho-analysis and anthropology" was translated into German and was published in the most prestigious journal of psychoanalysis, Imago.) Malinowski acknowledges that the triangle model of the sign put up by Ogden and Richards (where "Symbol", "Thought or Reference", and "Referent", i.e. the 'object', are placed in the three corners of the schema) has its merits, but it is only applicable to a very special situation of language use.

> "It is only in very special uses among a civilized community and only in its highest uses that language is employed to frame and express thoughts." (1923a:316)

In the "earlier stages of Meaning" (1923a:323), the sound is not a real symbol yet, since it doesn't involve thought. It is related directly to the referent or the situation. It is only in narrative speech and in the language of ritual magic, that something else besides the symbol and the referent appears, which then leads to the development of the full-fledged symbol in Ogden and Richards' sense (Malinowski 1923a:323-325).

It is tempting to say that what is common to Malinowski's criticism of Freud and his remarks on Ogden and Richards is that Malinowski criticises both Freud and Ogden and Richards for being ahistorical. It would be tempting, but it would hardly be justified. It is true that Malinowski's terminology has a certain historical, or at least developmental ring: differences between modern European society and the Melanesian tribes are often described in the way that the one is 'developed' and the other is 'primitive'; there is talk about 'earliest stages' in contrast to 'highest uses'; but this is not yet an historical treatment. Malinowski does not say that the Oedipus complex can only appear at a certain stage of historical development (and even less would he dream of defining this stage, directly or indirectly, by reference to, say, the development of productive forces in society). Rather he says that the Oedipus complex is not a universal: you cannot trace it in every human society, only in certain societies where appropriate conditions exist for it to develop. In the same way, Malinowski claims that 'expression of thought' is not a universal function of language, universal in the sense that it can be found in all speech communities in all contexts of language use. The parallel gets a bit blurred here, though. The use of language for expressing thought is certainly an achievement, but is patrilinear (not to talk about patriarchal) society, and with it the Oedipus complex, also an achievement? Hardly. So the question remains, who is primitive, and who is most happy, us or them. Noble savage, or *Tristes tropiques*?

10. Appendix II: Colonialism[1]

In 1938, Malinowski wrote the following sentences in his preface to Jomo Kenyatta's "Facing Mount Kenya" (Kenyatta 1938):

> "The educated, intellectual minority of Africans, usually dismissed as 'agitators', are rapidly becoming a force. They are catalysing an African public opinion even among

[1] The references in this section I owe to Robert Phillipson.

> the raw tribesman. A great deal will depend upon whether the minority of 'agitators' will be made to keep a balanced and moderate view of economic, social and political issues, or whether by ignoring them and treating them with contempt we drive them into the open arms of world-wide Bolshevism." (Malinowski 1938:x)

This one is from 1945:

> "As a Pole born and bred, I may be allowed to say here that in my opinion the British colonial system is second to none in its capacity to learn from experience; its adaptability and tolerance; and above all, in its genuine interest in the welfare of the natives." (Malinowski 1945:161)

This could be irony. It is not. It could also be realism, which it was, but realism on the firm basis of a clear idea on whose premises the anthropologist is to act. African anthropologists today see it like this:

> "[C]oncerned as he was with soliciting official recognition and financial support for anthropologists, Malinowski fully beleved that an important task of anthropology was to provide scientific recipes for facilitating social control." (Onoge 1979:47)

So this is another facet of Malinowski, one that came as a shock to me, I have to admit, when I realized it first. Of course, his African writings don't take anything away from the impact Malinowski's early work had on what one might term pragmatic linguistics. But they show that the rejection of a universalistic standpoint in anthropology (that is what his criticism of Ogden and Richards, and of Freud, is about) does not in itself mean doing away with every bias. Actually, it can be a precondition for being able to work with one's bias in a way that makes sense, for only he is realistic who can see that the world looks different, depending on from where you are looking at it.

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